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Social and Labor Adjustment of Rural Black Americans in the Mississippi Delta

A Case Study of Madison, Ark.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
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IN COOPERATION WITH ARKANSAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

SOCIAL AND LABOR ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL BLACK AMERICANS IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA: A Case Study of Madison, Ark. By Mary Jo Grinstead, Bernal L. Green, and J. Martin Redfern. Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture in cooperation with Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Arkansas. Agricultural Economic Report No. 274.

ABSTRACT

In a study of socioeconomic factors affecting employment of rural people in industry, residents of Madison, Ark., a primarily low-income black community of about 985 in the Mississippi Delta, did not exhibit the "culture of poverty" often attributed to low-income groups. Attitudinal factors affecting employability were measured on five scales by race, sex, age, income, education, and welfare status. Although black groups uniformly scored lower on a scale to measure socioeconomic status (even when balanced by income level and educational attainment), blacks did not uniformly have lower mean scores than whites on scales measuring social participation and job satisfaction potential. Nor were blacks more externally controlled or more tolerant of deviant behavior than whites. Major physical deterrents to employment were lack of transportation and unsatisfactory work environment.

Key words: Employment, Rural poverty, Blacks, Rural industries, Rural social structure, Mississippi Delta, Arkansas.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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PREFACE

This publication examines the socioeconomic factors affecting employment in industry of black Americans living in a rural area of the Mississippi Delta. Madison, Ark., the study community, is 25 miles west of Memphis, Tenn., in St. Francis County. Both St. Francis County and adjoining Cross County experienced rapid growth in manufacturing in the 1960's. In 1970, Madison had 985 inhabitants, mainly blacks, and three in four households were in economic poverty.

Impetus for the study came partly from area industrial firms who were disturbed by high turnover of personnel and low production rates, and partly from the realization that more valid information is needed about the potential of the rural labor force to implement the goals of rural development. Researchers hypothesized that because of their disadvantaged position in society, the people in Madison might exhibit physical and attitudinal differences which would affect their employability and social adjustment. Also investigated was the assertion that a general "culture of poverty" exists, especially among southern blacks. If such a culture does exist, efforts to improve the condition of the poor may have little chance of success.

This is one of six closely related studies designed to consider employability of rural labor, the impact of industry, and social adjustments in the Mississippi Delta and the Ozarks. These complementary studies were conducted by the University of Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station with support from The Ford Foundation, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

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HIGHLIGHTS

In a study of socioeconomic factors affecting employability of the rural poor, residents of Madison, Ark., a primarily black community of about 985 in the Mississippi Delta, did not exhibit the degree of hopelessness, fatalism, and search for immediate rewards--the "culture of poverty"--often attributed to deprived populations. As a group, blacks were more willing to work, to move, or to commute to find employment--and they held better images of work--than their white counterparts. Although not necessarily representative of the black population of the rural South, Madison may provide a model for predicting behavior and attitudinal patterns in other rural southern communities where employment opportunities in industry are increasing, income levels are rising, and blacks are gaining political power and social status.

Although Madison's black groups uniformly scored lower than whites on a scale designed to measure socioeconomic status (even when balanced by income level and educational attainment), blacks did not uniformly have lower mean scores than whites on scales measuring social participation and job satisfaction potential. Young blacks, for instance, demonstrated higher internal control and higher job satisfaction potential than their white counterparts. These attitudes may be associated with the rising income levels and shifts from agricultural and domestic work to industrial employment in the area in the past decade. Study findings showed that opportunities for young black males who had completed job-training programs were superior to those available to young black females who had completed similar programs.

Tolerance of deviant behavior--failure to work steadily and to pay debts, heavy drinking, etc.--appeared largely unrelated to income or educational variables. Blacks were not categorically more tolerant of deviant behavior than whites. As expected, females, regardless of race, were less tolerant of deviance than males. But as a measure of social and labor adjustment, attitude toward deviance was the least useful scale for accounting for population differences.

Many respondents expressed dissatisfaction with employment opportunities in the area, and although they did not wish to move elsewhere, indicated the lack of jobs was likely to force such action. Lack of transportation was a major physical deterrent to employment. Sixty-four percent of those in poverty households--three in four households had a mean disposable income of $2,591 in 1970--reported they had no means of getting to work, although major industries were located within 5 to 25 miles of the community.

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by

Mary Jo Grinstead, Bernal L. Green,
and J. Martin Redfern 1/

INTRODUCTION

Movement away from agriculture has left many farmworkers without jobs and poorly prepared to cope with the problems of living in a more industrialized society. To help policymakers devise effective programs to improve the real incomes and quality of life of these displaced persons, more research must be directed toward development of human resources in the Nation's rural areas.

A major purpose of the multidisciplinary study reported here was to bring into focus factors which inhibit or promote social adjustment and employability of the rural population of the Mississippi Delta region of Arkansas. The academic disciplines of agricultural economics, rural sociology, psychology, anthropology, and business management all yielded important insights which were useful in understanding the complex problem of adjustment.

Studies of the sociocultural patterns and attitudes prevailing among the poor lack sufficient documentation to be convincing. For example, the fatalism which is often alleged to be characteristic of the poor has not been adequately tested empirically. Thus, it was a major concern of this study to examine recent sociological aspects of poverty and race among southern rural blacks and whites in a small community.

The main framework of this study was based on that developed by Valentine (1968), Liebow (1967), Harris (1971), and Jessor, et al. (1968). 2/ It was hypothesized that the prevailing traits of social life in low-income communities are determined by the structural conditions and prevailing attitudes and values in the larger society. It is generally accepted that these conditions are mostly beyond the control of low-income people, but they affect employability and overall social adjustment. It is also generally recognized that dominant cultural values are difficult to obtain in a low-income setting.

1/ Respectively, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas; Agricultural Economist, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, stationed at the University of Arkansas; and Associate Professor, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Arkansas.

2/ Full sources are given in the References at the end of the report.

Figure 1 shows how a disadvantaged position in society can result in (1) low likelihood of job satisfaction potential; (2) an attitudinal system marked by external control and tolerance of deviant behavior; (3) low rates of participation in the major institutions in society; and (4) low socioeconomic status.

Study Area and Methods Used to Obtain Data

This study considers a predominantly black community, Madison, in eastern Arkansas. Anthropologists generally consider a community a natural unit to be studied and understood in its own right. Arensburg (1961) has pointed out that a community is a sample of one or more larger universes. Thus, a report on a specific community yields insights which are relevant for understanding that community's present and forecasting its future. It may also supply information valuable in explaining the nature of the universe to which the community belongs.

Information was obtained primarily through a standardized interview questionnaire designed to obtain social, economic, attitudinal, and employment-related information. Each questionnaire requested data about the individual as well as the household. A preliminary form of the questionnaire was pre-tested in Madison prior to the general survey. Respondents were either the head or the homemaker of each household. An attempt was made to conduct an interview in each of Madison's 257 households. Of these, 192 were black; 64, white; and 1, Mexican-American. There were two refusals.

Black and white enumerators of both sexes conducted interviews. Black enumerators interviewed only in black households while white enumerators interviewed both races in an attempt to determine whether black respondents would mention racial prejudice more frequently to black interviewers than to white ones. Interviews were conducted between June and August 1971.

MADISON: A DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL PROFILE

Madison, Ark. (1970 population, 985), is an agriculturally based community in St. Francis County, 5 miles east of Forrest City (1970 population, 12,521) and 25 miles west of Memphis, Tenn. Both Forrest City and Memphis are important to Madison residents because of employment opportunities.

Total population of St. Francis County declined 7.5 percent from 1960 to 1970, a pattern common in eastern Arkansas (table 1). However, over the same period, the St. Francis County black population decreased at a much more rapid rate (22 percent) than did the population as a whole (table 2). Population figures for St. Francis County show that a high rate of outmigration is characteristic of this traditionally agricultural section of northeastern Arkansas.

Although the number of people employed remained essentially constant from 1960 to 1970, there were substantial changes in the nature of employment. Employment in manufacturing increased 130 percent, compared with employment in agriculture, which declined 63 percent. The number of individuals employed by manufacturing firms more than doubled over the decade. Blacks formerly employed in agriculture found that their traditional jobs had disappeared. Employment

How Major Variables Affect Employability
and Overall Social Adjustment of Low-Income People

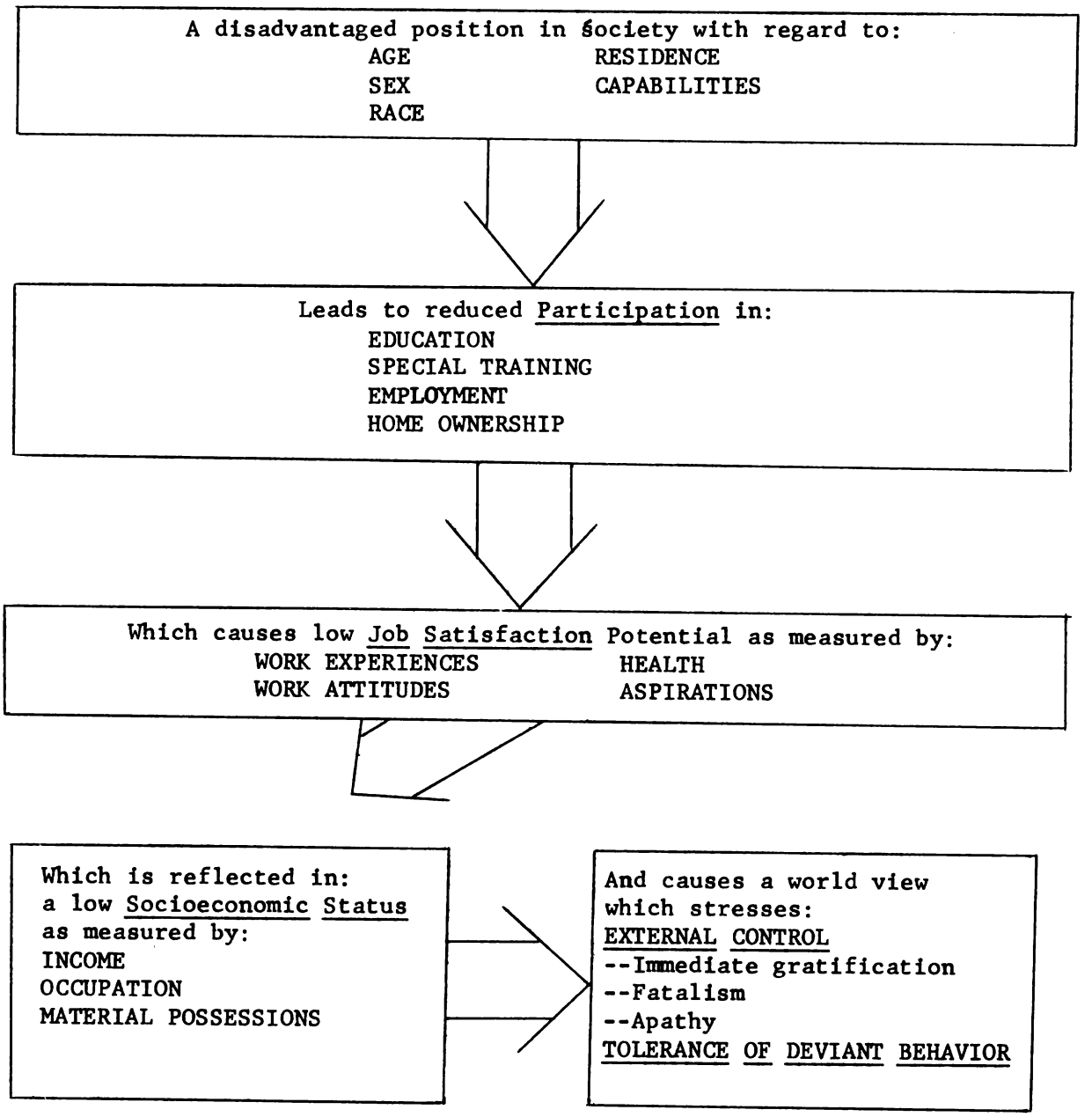

Figure 1

Table 1--Population in St. Francis and Cross counties, remaining counties in Eastern Arkansas Planning and Development District, and Arkansas, 1960 and 1970

County	Total population		Percentage change, 1960 to 1970
	1960	1970	
	Number	Number	Percent
St. Francis 1/	33,303	30,799	-7.5
Cross 2/	19,551	19,783	1.2
Subtotal	52,854	50,582	-4.3
Poinsett	30,834	26,822	-13.0
Clay	21,258	18,771	-11.7
Mississippi	70,174	62,060	-11.6
Lee	21,001	18,884	-10.1
Phillips	43,997	40,046	-9.0
Lawrence	17,267	16,320	-5.5
Green	25,198	24,765	-1.7
Randolph	12,520	12,645	1.0
Crittenden	47,564	48,106	1.1
Craighead 3/	47,303	52,068	10.1
Subtotal	337,116	320,487	-4.9
Total	389,970	371,069	-4.8
Total, Arkansas	1,786,272	1,923,295	7.7

1/ In 1960, 29 percent of the population was urban, compared with 41 percent in 1970.

2/ Cross County adjoins St. Francis County and shares in the industrial development of the area.

3/ Includes enrollment in Arkansas State University in 1970.

Source: Total Population Changes, Arkansas Population Analysis Series, No. 70-01, Industrial Research and Extension Center, Univ. of Arkansas, Little Rock, June 1971, p. 5.

for displaced agricultural workers was largely provided by six major manufacturing firms locating in St. Francis County during the 1960's. These six firms employed 26 percent of the county's labor force by 1970 (table 3).

Per capita income in eastern Arkansas counties rose during 1960-70 (table 3). But, in 1970, 75 percent of the Madison households were classified as in economic poverty. 3/ The mean household income of the poverty group, which averaged 6.3 members per family, was $2,591 in 1970, compared with $8,782 for the nonpoverty group whose family members averaged 4.9 (table 4). For the two groups combined, the mean community household income was $4,209 and the family size was 5.9.

3/ The formula used to classify households was provided by Office of Research and Evaluation, Office of Economic Opportunity, Dec. 16, 1970. The formula was $2,000 + $600 (N-1), where "N" is number in household.

Table 2--Black population as percentage of total population in St. Francis and Cross counties, remaining counties in Eastern Arkansas Planning and Development District, and Arkansas, 1960 and 1970

County	Black population		Percentage change, 1960 to 1970
	1960	1970	
	Percent		
St. Francis	57	48	-22
Cross	30	28	-6
Subtotal	47	40	-19
Poinsett	11	9	-28
Mississippi	30	27	-20
Crittenden	59	48	-19
Lee	61	58	-15
Phillips	58	54	-14
Randolph	1	1	3
Lawrence	1	1	6
Craighead	3	3	8
Clay	1/	1/	NA
Green	1/	1/	NA
Subtotal	27	24	-17
Total	30	26	-17
State of Arkansas	22	19	-8

NA = Not applicable.
1/ Less than 1 percent.
Source: "General Population Characteristics, Arkansas," Census of Population (1960 and 1970), Bur. of the Census, U.S. Dept. Commerce.

To gain insight into the nature of economic changes in the community, data were collected concerning each respondent's last previous job and the household income at the time the job was held. These data were then compared with household income figures at the time of interview. Based on incomes from jobs held immediately prior to the current jobs, 140 of the 257 households were in economic poverty, compared with 23 out of poverty, and 94 undetermined. Percentages associated with these categories are given in table 5. Significantly, 78 percent of the sample (109 of 140 households) known to be in poverty in terms of earnings in their last previous job were also in poverty in 1970.

Nearly 90 percent of the female heads of households were in poverty (table 6). Numbers in families were also high--6.3 for the poverty group, 4.9 for the nonpoverty group, and 5.9 for the combined groups (table 7). White households had a mean income of $6,257; blacks, $3,264. Much of this income difference resulted from the lower rate of employment for blacks. Thirty-three percent of the whites aged 16 or above were employed full time, compared with 20 percent of the blacks (table 8). Furthermore, the rate of self-perceived unemployment

Table 3--Selected socioeconomic characteristics, St. Francis County, Ark., 1960 and 1970

Item	Unit	1960	1970	Percentage change, 1960 to 1970
Total employment	Number	9,000	8,995	0
Agriculture 1/	do.	3,367	1,239	-63
Manufacturing	do.	992	2,281	130
Manufacturing as a share of total employment	Percent	11	26	--
Percentage of blacks employed in:				
Agriculture	do.	53	18	-77
Manufacturing	do.	6	26	220
Median income, all families and unrelated individuals	Dollars	1,706	4,471	162
Blacks	do.	1,017	2,257	122

Source: Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Arkansas, 1960 (1970), PC(1), 5C, Bur. of the Census, U.S. Dept. Commerce.

Table 4--Numerical changes in household poverty status based on total disposable household income from current job and last previous job, Madison, Ark. 1/

Present (1970) job poverty status	Total households, 1970	Previous job poverty status 2/: In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined 3/	Mean household income, 1970 4/
	Number				Dollars
In poverty	183	109	9	65	2,591
Out of poverty	66	29	14	23	8,782
Undetermined 3/	8	2	0	6	3,180
Total, previous job	257	140	23	94	4,209

1/ Use of phrase "current job" refers to job held at the time of this study.

2/ Income from previous job was inflated to 1970 dollars to standardize comparisons in different years (1950-69). Number in household in 1970 was used throughout the classification process: poverty threshold is $2,000 + $600 (N-1), where "N" is number in the household. (Formula obtained from Off. of Research and Evaluation, Off. of Economic Opportunity, Dec. 16, 1970.)

3/ Refusals and those whose "previous job" was prior to 1950.

4/ Based on those who reported incomes.

Table 5--Percentage changes in household poverty status based on total disposable household income from current job and last previous job, Madison, Ark. 1/

Current job poverty status	Total households, 1970	Previous job poverty status 2/		
		In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined 3/
	Percent			
In poverty	71	78	39	70
Out of poverty	26	21	61	24
Undetermined 3/	3	1	0	6
Total, previous job	100	100	100	100

1/ Use of the phrase "current job" refers to job held at the time of this study.

2/ Income from previous job was inflated to 1970 dollars to standardize comparisons in different years (1950-69). Number in household in 1970 was used throughout the classification process; poverty threshold is $2,000 + $600 (N-1), where "N" is number in the household. (Formula obtained from Off. of Research and Evaluation, Off. of Economic Opportunity, Dec. 16, 1970.)

3/ Refusals and those whose "previous job" was prior to 1950.

Table 6--Number and percentage distribution of heads of households, by sex and poverty status, Madison, Ark., 1970

Sex of household head	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
	Number			
Male	116	56	7	179
Female	67	10	1	78
	Percent			
Male	65	31	4	100
Female	86	13	1	100

Table 7--Number in households and percentage distribution by poverty status, Madison, Ark., 1970

Number in household	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
		Number		
1	14	2	0	16
2	21	5	2	28
3-5	54	36	3	93
6-8	46	20	3	69
Over 8	48	3	0	51
Mean number	(6.3)	(4.9)	(4.6)	(5.9)
		Percent		
1	90	10	0	100
2	75	18	7	100
3-5	58	39	3	100
6-8	66	30	4	100
Over 8	94	6	0	100

Table 8--Number and percentage distribution of Madison, Ark., residents living at home, by activity and by race, 1970

Activity	Blacks		Whites		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Employed:						
Full-time	158	20	66	33	224	22
Less than 35 hrs./wk.	30	4	8	4	38	4
Temporary	6	1	3	1	9	1
Seasonal	12	2	3	1	15	2
Homemaker	35	4	22	11	57	6
Student	257	32	49	24	306	31
Retired	72	9	13	7	85	8
Disabled	32	4	9	5	41	4
Preschool	115	14	19	9	134	13
Unemployed	81	10	9	5	90	9
Total	798	100	201	100	999	100

was much higher for blacks than for whites--10 percent, compared with 5 percent (table 8)

Although about 51 percent of the respondents in Madison had completed less than 9 years of schooling, the mean educational level of blacks was not lower than that of whites. And the educational level of Madison residents appeared to be increasing among the young (table 9). Of household heads with less than 5 years of formal education, 84 percent were in poverty (table 10). Nearly

Table 9--Mean levels of education attained by Madison, Ark., residents over 24 years of age living at home, by race, 1970

Age range	Mean years of education	
	Blacks	Whites
25-29	11.22	10.72
30-49	9.64	9.23
50-59	7.76	7.10
60 and over	7.49	6.02

Table 10--Education of household heads by poverty status, Madison, Ark., 1970

Years of schooling, household heads	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
	Number			
Below 5	47	5	4	56
5-8	71	17	3	91
9-11	38	15	1	54
12	15	18	0	33
Over 12	4	9	0	13
No response	8	2	0	10
Mean years	(7.0)	(9.8)	(5.1)	(7.6)
	Percent			
Below 5	84	9	7	100
5-8	78	19	3	100
9-11	70	28	2	100
12	45	55	0	100
Over 12	30	70	0	100
No response	80	20	0	100

two-thirds of the heads of in-poverty households had completed 8 years of schooling or less. Such educational limitations urgently call attention to the difficulties arising as a new job hierarchy develops in the Delta as a result of the shift from agricultural to industrial employment.

Thirty-nine percent of the in-poverty household heads were over 64 years of age, compared with 15 percent of the heads of nonpoverty households (table 11). The mean age of heads of in-poverty households was 57; that of out-of-poverty household heads, 41. It is unlikely that these elderly persons who comprise a substantial proportion of the residents of the Mississippi Delta region can escape from poverty through their own efforts. Moreover, the proportion of youths who have not reached working age is large in Madison owing to a high birth rate. Half the blacks residing in Madison households were under 20 years of age in 1970, compared with 37 percent of the whites (table 12). Thus, both the youth-dependency and the elderly-dependency burdens in the population are high.

To supplement income figures used as a measure of change, the researchers sought respondents' attitudes toward their economic condition. The research team was interested in ascertaining whether the people in Madison felt that their economic condition had improved or worsened between the year 1970 and some reference point in the past. Of the 1970 in-poverty group, 16 percent stated that their economic situation was "much better" than it had been 5 years before (table 13). An additional 48 percent of the in-poverty group said that their economic situation was a "little better" than it was 5 years earlier. However, 18 percent of the in-poverty respondents reported that their economic condition had worsened during the same 5 years, compared with 14 percent of the nonpoverty respondents.

Table 11--Age of household heads by poverty status, Madison, Ark., 1970

Age of head of household	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
		Number		
Below 35	28	33	1	62
35-64	84	23	4	111
Over 64	71	10	3	84
Mean age	(57)	(41)	(53)	(53)
		Percent		
Below 35	15	50	12	24
35-64	46	35	50	43
Over 64	39	15	38	33
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 12--Age of Madison, Ark., residents living at home, by race, 1970

Age range	Blacks		Whites	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 5	92	12	18	9
5-9	119	15	9	5
10-14	99	13	26	13
15-19	90	11	20	10
20-24	59	8	19	10
25-29	42	5	10	5
30-34	25	3	11	5
35-39	19	2	10	5
40-44	24	3	13	6
45-49	25	3	12	6
50-54	32	4	14	7
55-59	29	4	8	4
60-64	35	4	11	5
65-69	40	5	6	3
70-74	23	3	7	3
75 and over	43	5	8	4
Total	796	100	202	100

Table 13--Household economic condition in 1970 compared with 1965, by poverty status, Madison, Ark.

Compared with 1965, the 1970 economic situation is--	Poverty status, 1970			
	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
	Number			
Much better	30	20	2	52
A little better	86	20	2	108
About the same	29	15	2	46
A little worse	17	8	0	25
Much worse	17	1	2	20
No response	4	2	0	6
Total	183	66	8	257
	Percent			
Much better	16	30	25	20
A little better	48	30	25	42
About the same	16	23	25	18
A little worse	9	12	0	10
Much worse	9	2	25	8
No response	2	3	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100

PHYSICAL DETERRENTS TO OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

The study team considered initially that the following factors influence employability: (1) transportation, (2) quality of the work environment (including racial discrimination), (3) health, (4) education, and (5) geographic mobility.

Transportation

The emphasis on private transportation in the United States has created a substantial hardship for low-income families. This is especially true of people in Madison who live 5 to 25 miles from major manufacturing firms which serve as potential employment sources. A specific example of the way transportation can serve as a significant barrier to employment is provided below.

One young black man had completed an employment training program at a local vocational school and had been offered employment at a factory some 20 miles from his home. Unable to find public or other transportation, he sought to buy an old model car, maintaining that he could not afford a newer model. However, banks, as a matter of general policy, find it undesirable to finance older autos. Car dealers, too, are greatly concerned about the credit ratings of low-income families. Thus, no bank or car dealer made the loan. The man was, therefore, forced to reject the factory job. 4/

Over half (51 percent) the Madison respondents said they had no vehicle (64 percent of the poverty group and 12 percent of the nonpoverty group). Also, 3 to 5 percent of the respondents with cars reported that the conditions of their vehicles had often caused them to miss work during the previous year (table 14).

Quality of the Work Environment

Respondents were asked: "Do you remember a time when you felt very unhappy about your job?" For those who answered yes, probe questions followed (see table 15). Responses show that racial prejudice was not a dominant issue. Only two persons mentioned that racially discriminatory attitudes and practices contributed to an unpleasant work environment.

The ranking of reasons for discontent varied somewhat with the racial identity of the interviewer. The major factor mentioned to black enumerators as a cause of work dissatisfaction was inadequate pay. White interviewers (who interviewed both blacks and whites) were told primarily about unpleasant physical working conditions and the distasteful nature of their work, with inadequate pay ranking third in importance in accounting for employment dissatisfaction. These responses came mainly from those in agriculture. Fifty-three of the 154

4/ Presumably, the young man was acting rationally in not getting in "over his head" financially by trying to buy a newer car. Likewise, the policies of bankers and auto dealers concerning age of car and credit rating of loan applicants are rational. The result was no transaction.

Table 14--Transportation situation by poverty status of respondent, Madison, Ark., 1970

Transportation status	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
		Number		
Frequency auto condition caused respondent to miss work last 12 months:				
Never	41	47	1	89
Rarely	16	7	0	23
Often	2	3	0	5
Don't know	6	1	1	8
Total	65	58	2	125
No car	118	8	6	132
		Percent		
Never	63	81	50	71
Rarely	25	12	--	18
Often	3	5	50	4
Don't know	9	2	--	7
Total	100	100	100	100
No car	1/ 64	12	75	51

1/ Percentage based on 118 divided by 183, or 65 plus 118.

who responded to the question on job dissatisfaction indicated that they had always liked their work.

Fifty-five percent of the total respondents said they had asked the Employment Security Division, Arkansas State Department of Labor, for assistance in finding employment. This compares with 73 percent of the out-of-poverty group who had requested job assistance.

Health

Health-related unemployment was considered by the research team to constitute a possible deterrent to satisfactory labor adjustment. Even a superficial consideration of the data discloses that nearly 10 percent of the persons had at some time been refused employment because of physical condition (table 16). Of those in poverty in 1970, 11 percent indicated that ill health had cost them jobs. In response to a query about their current health status, 27 percent of the respondents under 35 years of age and 59 percent of those over 35 replied that they had substantial health problems. However, 75 percent of those with health problems had sought help from a physician. Only 16 percent had resorted to home remedies alone.

Table 15--Response to job dissatisfaction query, by poverty status of respondent and race of interviewer, Madison, Ark., 1970

Reasons for job dissatisfaction	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total	Percent
	No.	No.	No.	No.	Pct.
Black interviewers:					
Pay too low	9	3	0	12	41
Did not like nature of work	6	2	0	8	28
Overworked	5	0	0	5	17
Fear of layoff	2	0	0	2	7
Boss prejudiced 1/	1	1	0	2	2/ 7
Other	7	1	0	8	
Always liked work	19	7	1	27	
No response	44	9	5	58	
Total	93	23	6	122	100
White interviewers:					
Unpleasant physical working conditions	11	5	0	16	28
Did not like nature of work	7	7	0	14	25
Pay too low	9	2	0	11	19
Over-worked	4	3	0	7	12
Boss criticized 1/	4	2	0	6	11
Bad co-workers	2	1	0	3	3/ 5
Other	3	4	0	7	
Always liked work	22	4	0	26	
No response	28	15	2	45	
Total	90	43	2	135	100

1/ It was assumed that "Boss criticized" was not a euphemism for "Boss prejudiced."

2/ Percentages based on first 5 categories.

3/ Percentages based on first 6 categories.

Education

Twenty-six percent of those households classified as in economic poverty were headed by individuals with less than 5 years of formal elementary education (table 17). In contrast, only 7 percent of the out-of-poverty household heads had less than 5 years of schooling. The average educational training of household heads in the Madison sample was only 7.6 years, compared roughly with a State median of 11.1 for whites and 8.0 for blacks aged 25 and over. In Madison, the educational attainment of black respondents was slightly higher than that of whites, but the level of education was increasing among the young of both races.

Table 16--Unemployment due to health by poverty status of respondents, Madison, Ark., 1970

Health-related unemployment	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Total
		Number		
Ever rejected for employment due to physical conditions:				
Yes	20	4	0	24
No	160	62	8	230
Don't know	3	0	0	3
		Percent		
Yes	11	6	0	9
No	87	94	100	90
Don't know	2	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 17--Selected educational and mobility characteristics of Madison, Ark., respondents by poverty status, 1970

Item	Unit	In poverty	Out of poverty	Undetermined	Overall
Education of household head:					
Below 5 years	Percent	1/ 26	7	50	22
Mean	Years	7.0	9.8	5.1	7.6
Respondents who asked Employment Security Division for help	Percent	50	73	4	55
Spouses' perception of job situation in local areas:					
Not good	do.	57	53	75	57
Mobility of respondent:					
Would accept job training	do.	51	74	63	58
Willing to drive 50 miles round trip	do.	40	56	38	44
Would move at least 50 miles	do.	18	38	12	23
In-migrant households 2/	do.	9	12	0	9

1/ Percentages for this characteristic and all others in this table are based on dichotomous response; that is, 74 percent had 5 years or more of education.

2/ Respondent lived anywhere in St. Francis County, Ark., for less than 6 years.

Many respondents indicated they were willing to take special training to increase their employability. Seventy-four percent of the out-of-poverty group said they would enroll in job training programs, compared with 51 percent of the in-poverty respondents. Some of the expressed unwillingness to take special job training may be attributable to the fact that many respondents were elderly.

Geographic Mobility

Geographic mobility would logically depend largely on the people's perception of the job situation in a particular area. Fifty-seven percent of the Madison respondents considered the local job situation "not good" (table 17). Fifty-six percent of the out-of-poverty group and 40 percent of the in-poverty respondents expressed a willingness to drive 25 miles daily (one-way) to work, providing wages were satisfactory. A smaller proportion--38 percent of those out of poverty and 18 percent of those in poverty--stated that they would be willing to move to another community at least 50 miles away to obtain work. Some unwillingness to move may be explained in terms of the high proportion of elderly residents in the community.

FORMULATION OF SCALES TO MEASURE GROUP DIFFERENCES

This study made use of a framework designed to show how a disadvantaged position in society makes probable (1) a low likelihood of job satisfaction potential, (2) an attitudinal system marked by external control and tolerance of deviant behavior, (3) low rates of participation in the major institutions in society, and (4) low socioeconomic status. (The reader may wish to refer to figure 1 again.) Thus far, the emphasis of this report has been on describing the study area and the study group and on examining deterrents to employability among the respondents. The remainder of the report is devoted to examining the larger conceptual hypothesis upon which the study was based.

Those familiar with statistical procedures will find it helpful to read descriptions of the methods by which scales were established (principal components) and groups compared by means of the scales (MANOVA).

To understand the complexities of social life in Madison, five scales or indexes were formulated to measure (1) Job Satisfaction Potential (JSP), (2) Internal-External Control (I-E), (3) Social Participation (PART), (4) Socioeconomic Status (SES), and (5) Attitudes Toward Deviant Behavior (ATD). These five scales were then used to compare groups of blacks and whites by sex, age, income, educational level, and welfare status. A summary of comparisons for the JSP scale is shown in table 18. This same series of comparisons was made for the remaining four scales. Each scale is comprised of several components, and each component is weighted according to its level of correlation with the scale.

From the perspective of economists and policymakers, the JSP and the I-E scales will probably be of most interest, since they seek answers to the following questions:

(1) What facets of the work environment generate highest (and lowest) feelings of job satisfaction?

Table 18--Job satisfaction potential scale, compared with selected characteristics of respondents in Madison, Ark., 1970

Selected characteristics	Blacks	Whites
Sex: Females	(Table shown for illustrative purposes only)	
Males		
Age: 17-30		
31-49		
50 and over		
Income: Under $3,000		
$3,000-$6,000		
$6,001-$9,000		
Over $9,000		
Education: Less than 7 years		
7-11		
Over 11 years		
Welfare status: On welfare		
Not on welfare		

(2) What personal characteristics of the respondents generate highest (and lowest) levels of employability?

(3) Which groups will indicate a strong preference for immediate gratification, and be fatalistic and apathetic about their future (that is, externally controlled)?

Social scientists, such as anthropologists and sociologists, may be more interested in analyzing the different levels of participation in institutions and the factors affecting participation, as shown in the PART scale. The remaining two indexes, Socio-Economic Status (SES) and Attitudes Toward Deviance (ATD), add scope and depth to the study.

Methods Used to Establish Scales

The Hotelling principal components technique was the major methodological tool used in the construction of the five scales (Hotelling, 1933). The first principal component accounts for the greatest variance among variables. Component loadings or weights represent the extent to which a particular component correlates with the scale. For example, suppose the JSP scale is comprised of 13 components or items. The item "Would accept a job if offered one" may have the top weight of 083.1, while the 13th item may have a weight of -018.4. Therefore, item loadings on the first principal component were used to obtain weights for scale items which were meaningful in terms of the population studied. As an illustration, if income has a high statistical relationship with the scale

designed to measure Socio-Economic Status (SES), its loading will be greater than if income is only minimally related to SES. In a poverty-level community, components measuring SES might be assessed somewhat differently than in a more affluent community. In Madison, since nearly everyone had electricity and refrigerators, these items were only slightly discriminatory of SES. Similarly, an item such as a boat, possessed by only a few persons in the sample, would also not be highly discriminatory of SES and would not receive a high component loading.

The following formula was used to weight each individual's responses on each component:

$$I_j = \sum_{i=1}^{k} \left[W_j \frac{X_{ij} - X_i}{\sigma_i} \right]$$

i = 1 . . . k = number of variables
j = 1 . . . n = number of observational units
W_i = ith element in the eigenvector corresponding to the first principal component

X_{ij} = appropriate original score (ith score for the jth individual)
X_i = mean of the ith variable
σ_i = standard deviation of ith variable

Group means were established by summing individual weights and dividing that score by the number of individuals in the group. Means do not represent cumulative scores but rather indicate distances from zero.

Job Satisfaction Potential Scale (JSP)

A major hypothesis of this study was that a disadvantaged position in society is likely to bear adversely upon employment participation and adjustment. Thus, individuals or groups whose educational level, race, sex, health, access to transportation, access to information, or attitudes are handicaps in employment are likely to have a low potential for job satisfaction. Individuals or groups for whom the converse is true are all likely to have a relatively high potential for job satisfaction.

Because it is customary to begin retiring from active employment at 60 years of age, scores on the JSP scale were computed only for persons aged 60 and under.

Thirteen items from the questionnaire which had been designed to measure employment success were used to form the JSP scale. Component items included such potential deterrents to employability as inadequate transportation, health problems, refusal of employment because of health problems, present unemployment or engagement in part-time employment, length of time unemployed, failure to use

the State Employment Security Division office, and negative attitudes toward taking special training, toward driving 25 miles each day (one-way) to work, toward moving to another community at least 50 miles away to work, and toward previous employment experiences. Unemployed individuals were asked whether they were looking for work, and if not, why. Unemployed persons were also asked whether they would accept a job if one were offered. Responses to each of these considerations were viewed as either increasing or decreasing a respondent's potential for job satisfaction.

Items were scored in a form compatible with principal components analysis.5/ The first principal component was extracted from the inter-item correlation matrix. As is indicated from component loadings of individual items on the JSP scale (see table 19), major importance in accounting for job satisfaction potential rested on an individual's willingness to accept a job if one were offered, reasons for not looking for employment, length of time unemployed, commitment to seeking a job, and present employment status.

Table 19--First principal component of job satisfaction potential scale, Madison, Ark. 1/

Scale item	Component loading 2/
Would accept a job if offered	83.1
Reasons for not looking	81.9
Length of time unemployed	81.3
Looking for a job	80.3
Present employment status	70.8
Said he "felt good" about a job	51.1
Would take special job training	47.7
Would drive 25 miles to work each day	45.9
Lack of transportation deterrent	33.5
Would move to another community	28.6
Has gone to Arkansas Employment Security Division for job assistance	24.3
Refused employment due to health	-18.4
Health problems present	-31.5

1/ The first principal component accounts for 32.77 percent of the total variance.

2/ Loadings on component represent the strength of the correlations of the items with the eigenvector. Both positive and negative signs indicate a relationship with the component. A loading of or near zero indicates little or no relationship of the item with the component. A variable with a negative sign is having the opposite effect from one with a positive sign.

5/ For the purposes of performing a principal components analysis, data for these traits were either dichotomized (yes-no, presence-absence) or transformed into an interval or ratio scale of measurement.

One of the weaknesses of the JSP scale construction is that it is not equally relevant across occupational boundaries. For example, individuals who are seeking blue-collar work are much more likely to avail themselves of special training and the services of the State Employment Security Division office than those who are classed as professionals. Also, an expressed willingness to drive 25 miles and back each day to work or to move to another community to obtain employment may be affected by the individual's perception of his current level of job security. That is, a self-employed businessman whose business is prospering may not anticipate the same need to commute or to move to obtain work as a factory worker whose job security is minimal. Thus, the JSP scale is somewhat more applicable to individuals occupying lower and middle rank jobs than to individuals in upper level and professional occupations. The significance of this scale bias is minimal, however, since the bulk of Madison residents occupy or would potentially occupy nonprofessional jobs.

Internal-External Control Scale (I-E)

According to A. J. McKnight, who testified before the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty:

> The poor tend to be fatalistic and pessimistic because for them there is no future; everything is today. They do not postpone satisfactions. When pleasure is available, they tend to take it immediately. They do not save, because for them, there is no tomorrow (Breathitt, et al., 1967:8).

Lewis (1966) characterized the culture of poverty as involving the trait of fatalism. Miller (1958:11) also designated fate as one of the "focal concerns" of low-income groups:

> Many lower-class individuals feel that their lives are subject to a set of forces over which they have relatively little control . . . Not infrequently this often implicit world view is associated with a conception of the ultimate futility of directed effort towards a goal.

Social scientists have noted that fatalism is a common interpretation of the word when the individual is faced with important facets of his environment over which he has little or no control.

The instrument used to test the degree to which an individual perceives events to be the result of luck, chance, fate, or the control of others, as against a perception that events are contingent upon his own behavior, was Julian B. Rotter's Internal-External (I-E) Control scale. This I-E scale has been tested extensively in a number of social learning situations.

Here it was hypothesized that blacks and individuals in the lower strata of the socioeconomic hierarchy would be more externally controlled than whites and/or individuals occupying a more favorable position. External control would be an expected orientation for blacks, both because of racial discrimination, which serves to limit opportunities for achievement, and because individuals

who experience failure frequently turn to fatalism as a way of explaining their problem.

A number of statements thought to be relevant to the research community were selected from Rotter's I-E scale. Weights for individual statements were determined, using principal components analysis (see table 20).

Table 20--First principal component of internal-external control scale, Madison, Ark. 1/

Scale item	Component loading 2/
"If you've got ability you can always get a good job."	61.8
"Working hard and steady is the way to get ahead in a job."	54.1
"What's happened to me has been my own doing."	46.3
"It's better to put money aside to have when you really need it."	41.8
"It's easy to have friends; a person just needs to try to be friendly."	28.1
"I prefer to have things all planned in advance."	20.2
"I don't spend much time thinking about the past."	04.1
"Racial and religious prejudice will always be with us."	-06.0
"I've got plenty of time; I don't mind waiting."	-16.0
"Live in the present, the future will take care of itself."	-26.9
"If the breaks are against you, you can get into trouble."	-26.9
"You need the right breaks for a marriage to succeed."	-32.3
"The way one's life turns out is completely in God's hands."	-41.1
"There's not much the average person can do about how the government runs."	-55.3

1/ The first principal component accounts for 13.86 percent of the total variance between variables.

2/ See footnote 2, table 19.

Social Participation Scale (PART)

Studies have continually indicated that social participation in various institutions in the larger society is a function of socioeconomic standing, race, sex, and age (Chapin, 1955; Bryan and Bertrand, 1970; Warner, 1949). Furthermore, the nature and rate of group participation vary according to these same social divisions. Low-income groups are likely to have high participation rates in certain institutions such as public assistance and churches, while higher level income groups display low participation rates in these same institutions. Positive participation in certain institutions may not be possible because of racial considerations. For example, until recently, blacks in the Delta had very low rates of participation in the military because of hardship deferments and limited formal education. Farmwork hampered the acquisition of formal education, with elderly blacks remembering a time when their school year sometimes lasted only 3 months.

A scale was devised to measure participation in institutions and activities which would positively influence an individual's socioeconomic status. Items listed in the scale included the following: frequency of church attendance, extent of club membership, frequency of get-togethers with friends and neighbors, absence of an arrest record for offenses other than minor traffic violations, voting in the 1968 national elections, expressed plans to vote in the 1972 national elections, participation in employment, an absence of dependence on welfare or public assistance, engagement in military service, interest in special training, home ownership, and extent of formal education (table 21).

Table 21--First principal component of social participation scale, Madison, Ark. 1/

Scale item 2/	Component loading 3/
Education scale 2/	69.5
Employment scale 3/	61.3
Absence of welfare	59.7
Special training	53.0
Home ownership	44.6
Club membership	43.5
Intention to vote in 1972 national elections	30.1
Vote cast in 1968 national elections	29.8
Military	21.5
Church attendance	15.2
Get-togethers with friends	12.2
Arrest record	4/-01.9

1/ The first principal component accounts for 17.93 percent of the total variance.

2/ Absolute numbers were used for education, club membership, church attendance, and get-togethers with friends. Other variables were dichotomized.

3/ Codes used are as follows: 3 = full-time; 2 = part-time, seasonal or temporary; 0 = others.

4/ See footnote 2, table 19.

Socio-Economic Status Scale (SES)

Sociologists and anthropologists have long stressed the importance of socioeconomic status as a correlate of behavioral and attitudinal patterns. Here, a number of relationships were hypothesized to be correlated with socioeconomic levels. For example, higher socioeconomic groups were hypothesized to be less tolerant of deviant behavior and more internally controlled, to possess more job satisfaction potential, and to participate to a greater degree in status-lending activities and organizations than their lower socioeconomic class counterparts.

A number of single-item and multiple-item indexes of social class position have been formulated by social scientists. Although the specific content or emphasis of each scale differs, the general focus is on material possessions and ability to cope economically as measured primarily by income and occupation. Social participation is an additional factor that is sometimes included in measures of socioeconomic status (Chapin, 1935). However, for this study, it was felt that social participation should be separated from a socioeconomic status measurement to provide a more sensitive representation of population differences.

For the principal components analysis, each material possession was coded according to either presence or absence. The absolute figure for total take-home household income for the past 12 months was utilized, and occupations were scaled according to the following hierarchy:

Professionals and managers = 5
Clerical, sales, crafts, and operative workers = 4
Farmers, service workers (except private household), students, housewives, and military personnel = 3
Farm laborers, foremen, and private household workers = 2
Part-time, retired, and disabled workers, and laborers = 1

These scale values correlate roughly to the relative prestige of the occupations. They also generally conform to the occupational classifications proposed by Edwards (1940), the Minnesota Occupational Scale, and Centers' Occupational Index (1949). It was felt that the principal components method of weighting items related to SES was pertinent in a low-income community where social class affiliation is likely to be judged somewhat differently than in an area where more occupational diversity, higher incomes, and higher levels of living are common. By using the principal components method, weights become relevant to the population under study.

For example, on the first principal component, component loadings of material possessions correspond to the contribution that those items make toward determining SES. As was indicated earlier, such items as electricity and refrigerators were present (inelastic) across all strata of Madison's population and thus made little contribution to SES (table 22).

Table 23 lists the traits composing the SES index as well as the respective factor loadings on each trait on the first principal component.

Table 23--First principal component of socioeconomic status scale, Madison, Ark. 1/

Scale item 2/	Component loading 3/
Kitchen sink	80.4
Bathtub	80.2
Inside flush toilet	78.9
Number of rooms in house	68.3
Vacuum cleaner	68.3
Running water	65.6
Operating car or truck	64.8
Air conditioner	63.5
Total household income for last 12 months	62.9
Telephone	56.5
Clothes dryer	53.3
Toaster	51.3
Range	45.8
Washing machine	44.9
Record player	43.8
Occupation	42.5
Home freezer	41.4
Sewing machine	40.9
Television	36.8
Furnace	35.6
Shower	34.9
Daily newspaper	33.1
Radio	30.5
Automatic dishwasher	29.2
Refrigerator	29.2
Boat	29.1
Screens	25.7
Electricity	-00.6

1/ The first principal component accounts for 26.44 percent of total variance between variables.

2/ Material possessions were coded in the following manner: 1 = yes; 0 = no. Absolutes were used for other variables.

3/ See footnote 2, table 19.

limited; that is, among ethnic and racial groups in the lower socioeconomic strata.

For socioeconomically disadvantaged groups, it was hypothesized that failure to work steadily, failure to pay debts, failure to maintain a conventional family organization, and heavy drinking would not be viewed as negatively as among higher status groups. Although such behavior will not be valued, deprivation will necessitate some tolerance of behavior forms generally defined as deviant. If adequate jobs are not available, the person who does not work steadily will not be viewed harshly. If paying debts interferes with providing family necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter, the individual who is

negligent in paying will not be severely condemned. And, as Valentine (1968: 132-33) has pointed out, unconventional family arrangements may develop from economic necessity.

A scale measuring Attitudes Toward Deviant Behavior (ADT) was adapted from an instrument used by Jessor et al. (1968) in their study of deviancy in a tri-ethnic Colorado community. Principal components methodology was used to determine weights for scale items. Table 24 summarized the first principal component of the ATD scale.

TESTS FOR DIFFERENCES AMONG POPULATION GROUPS IN MADISON

To better understand the nature of any community differences, Madison's population was divided into groups based on the following distinctions: race and sex, race and age, race and income, race and welfare status, and race and education. The relative positions of these groups on each of the scales just discussed provided the method by which population differences could be better understood. When groups were compared on the I-E, PART, SES, and ATD scales, all respondents were included in the analysis. However, it was reasoned that only those individuals who were currently employed, or of such age as to be likely candidates for employment, should be assessed in terms of the Job Satisfaction Potential (JSP) scale. Therefore, only those individuals aged 60 and under were scored on the JSP scale. Two population profiles thus resulted from an analysis of population groups on the scales. One utilized the entire sample and compared groups on the I-E, PART, SES, and ATD scales. Another compared the sample population aged 60 and under on each of the preceding scales in addition to the JSP scale.

Two statistical techniques were used to determine group differences: multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) (Morrison, 1967) and Fisher's classical method of discriminant function analysis. The MANOVA procedure is a test

Table 24--First principal component of attitudes toward deviance scale, Madison, Ark. 1/

Scale item	Component loading 2/
Husband and wife separating is wrong	51.8
Wrong not to work steady when you could	63.6
Getting into fights is wrong	63.7
Not paying debts is wrong	64.7
A woman being a heavy drinker is wrong	68.8
Married man "fooling around" is wrong	69.7
Wrong for parents not to stay home with their kids most of the time	72.2
Man being a heavy drinker is wrong	75.8

1/ The first principal component accounts for 44.45 percent of the total variance between variables.

2/ See footnote 2, table 19.

for the equality of means among several populations or groups. Technically, the hypothesis being tested is that $u_1=u_2= \ldots u_k$, where k is the number of populations, against the alternative hypothesis that at least one equality ("=") is not true. The model for this test incorporates the assumption that the variance-covariance structures for the populations being compared are equal.

An added feature of the MANOVA procedure used for this study is a stepdown analysis which indicates the order of the importance of the variables in discriminating among the groups. If the null hypothesis (no statistically significant difference among groups) is rejected, at least one variable does have discriminatory power, but the researcher cannot assume that all variables are of equal discriminatory power or even that all variables are necessarily discriminatory at all. To establish an ordering of the discriminating variables, an F-statistic is calculated for each variable, with the relative size of this statistic indicating the discriminatory power of the variables for the groups being compared.

In the present study, in situations where the variance-covariance structures were unequal, groups were still subjected to a MANOVA to obtain a stepdown analysis. Even though group differences cannot be assessed legitimately in statistical terms in these cases, the stepdown still suggests useful insights concerning the nature of these differences.

Race and Sex

Research hypotheses predicted that race and sex would be strategic variables in explaining sociological and attitudinal dimensions in the population. Although a statistical test revealed that the null hypothesis of equal variance-covariance should be rejected, prohibiting a test for MANOVA, differences in group means revealed interesting sociological relationships between race and sex groups (table 25).

The stepdown analysis showed that the scale which best explained variance among race and sex groups when the entire sample was included in the analysis was the PART scale (table 26). 6/ A comparison of group means on the scale (table 25) revealed that white males were engaged in the greatest number of status-lending activities. White males, then, were in the group most likely to be employed, to be relatively highly educated, to have served in the military, to have taken special training for occupational advancement, to have voted in the 1968 national elections and to be planning to vote in the 1972 national elections, to attend church, and to belong to clubs. White females participated to a lesser degree than white males in these same institutions and activities.

6/ Although there was a statistically significant relationship between SES and race and sex groups, the sociological significance of this relationship is minimal. The SES scale was based on household possessions, household take-home income, and the occupations of the heads of households. There is no reason to expect households where female respondents were interviewed to have a lower income or number of household possessions than households where males served as informants, although female heads of households generally had less prestigious occupations than male household heads.

Table 25--Means of 4 race and sex groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark. 1/

Race and sex	Number	Mean 2/	Race and sex	Number	Mean 2/
		SES Scale			
White males		-229.4	Black males		92.4
White females		-183.6	Black females		58.1
		PART Scale			
White males		49.9	Black males		-10.0
White females		10.5	Black females		- 7.3
		I-E Scale			
White males	21	43.4	Black males	44	9.5
White females	43	- .8	Black females	148	-8.5
		ATD Scale			
White males		-28.4	Black males		-41.7
White females		68.8	Black females		- 2.2

1/ High negative means indicate high socioeconomic status on the SES scale, a lack of participation on the PART scale, internal control on the I-E scale, and tolerance of deviant behavior on the ATD scale.

2/ Mean values on scales are not cumulative, reflecting rather the strength and direction of the relationship of the group with the scale.

Note: F Statistic = 1.402 with 30 and 23427 D.F.
The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.07.

Table 26--Stepdown analysis of 4 race and sex groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
SES scale	13.763	0.000
PART scale	2.554	.030
ATD scale	1.447	.217
I-E control scale	1.175	.321

Black females were only slightly higher in their score on the PART scale than black males, a relationship probably explained by the higher rate of church attendance and church membership of black females (table 25).

The stepdown analysis revealed that the ATD and I-E scales were not statistically significant at the 0.05 level in explaining additional variance between race and sex groups. But interesting group differences do exist, as shown in table 25. Contrary to expectation, females were more internally controlled than males. Compared with males, females in Madison tended to plan for the future and to believe in the desirability of saving money, and they maintained that events which had occurred in their lives were largely the result of their own actions and behaviors. Perhaps the internal orientation of black females stemmed partly from religious convictions, since older black females were the most church-oriented of the groups studied and were the group most likely to interpret the I-E scale in terms of religious doctrines. It is interesting that although the socioeconomic structure of the United States operates most to the advantage of white males and least to the advantage of black females (Young, 1970:271; Davis, 1973), white males were the most "external" and black females, the most "internal." Certainly the socioeconomic realities of Delta life do not appear to support these attitudes.

As expected, black males were the most tolerant of deviant behavior; white females, the least tolerant. Jessor et al. (1968:228) found that females of all ethnic affiliations in a tri-ethnic sample were less tolerant of deviant behavior than were males.

When the over-60 age group was excluded from the analysis, however, a somewhat different population profile appeared (table 27). In this analysis, variance-covariance was equal, enabling a test of significance for the multi-variate analysis of variance to be made. The MANOVA showed that the null hypothesis of group equality could be rejected at the 0.05 level of significance, showing that there was difference among populations. The stepdown analysis indicated that the two scales which were statistically significant at the 0.05 level in explaining increasing variance among population groups were the PART and the I-E scales (table 28). 7/

Black males aged 60 and under had the highest group mean score on the PART scale. This finding indicated that there were considerably more opportunities for participation for younger than for older black males. It is interesting to note that participation for this group of black males even exceeded that for the comparable age group of white males. As in the analysis including respondents of all ages, means on the PART scale indicated a higher rate of participation for white females than for black females.

Although rates of participation for black men aged 60 and under were greater than those for white men of comparable age, JSP scores indicated that black men were less satisfied or likely to be satisfied with employment or potential employment opportunities than white men.

7/ See footnote 6.

Table 27--Means of 4 race and sex groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Race and sex	Number	Mean	Race and sex	Number	Mean
			SES Scale		
White males		-251.3	Black males		-28.7
White females		-258.6	Black females		25.1
			PART Scale		
White males		82.5	Black males		138.3
White females		41.0	Black females		8.0
			I-E Scale		
White males	13	55.0	Black males	20	17.4
White females	30	-54.7	Black females	103	-14.1
			ATD Scale		
White males		-45.8	Black males		-25.5
White females		76.9	Black females		-13.3
			JSP Scale 1/		
White males		-132.6	Black males		-119.8
White females		18.7	Black females		36.8

1/ High negative means on the JSP scale indicate high job satisfaction potential.

Note: F Statistic = 1.544 with 45 and 7332 D.F.
The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.011.

Differences on the JSP scale by sex are interesting in light of the prevailing idea that black females occupy more advantageous positions in the employment market than do black males. Although U.S. census data reveal that earnings of black males exceed those of black females, many observers still believe that it is easier for the black female to find employment. Such an impression is engendered by the "matrifocal" interpretation of the black family and the belief that black females can always find domestic employment, whereas employment opportunities for black males are more scarce. Madison findings are corroborated by data from Davis (1973) which showed that black females who completed job-training programs in eastern Arkansas were much more likely to remain unemployed or to lack successful job adjustment than were black males who completed similar programs.

Table 28--Stepdown analysis of 4 race and sex groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F Statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
SES scale	8.223	0.000
PART scale	4.898	.000
I-E control scale	2.565	.020
JSP scale	1.188	.317
ATD scale	.692	.632

Black males aged 60 and under were less tolerant of deviant behavior than the black male population as a whole. When the age-60-and-under population was examined, white males appeared to be more tolerant of deviance than black males. If, as this research has indicated, the opportunities for social mobility are increasing for young blacks, it would be feasible for tolerance of deviant behavior to decrease. Again, white females were the group most intolerant of deviant behavior, with black females next most intolerant of deviance.

Race and Age

In terms of both status recognition and economic deprivation, gerontologists have consistently pointed out the relatively disadvantaged position of the aged in American society.

The Madison population was divided by race into three age groups: 17-30 years of age, 31-49 years of age, 50 years of age and over. When the JSP scale was included in the analysis, only those individuals 50-60 years of age were included in the third age category.

A statistical test indicated equal variance-covariance when the entire sample population was included, and the MANOVA results showed that the null hypothesis of group equality should be rejected at the 0.05 level (table 29). According to the stepdown analysis, the three most discriminatory scales in order of their contribution to explaining variance were the SES, PART, and I-E scales (table 30). All three scales were statistically significant at the 0.05 level in explaining increasing amounts of variance.

As predicted, age generally had an inverse correlation with SES (table 29). That is, the older the population the lower its socioeconomic status. It is interesting to compare whites and blacks on the SES scale, because in each category, the mean score for whites exceeded that for blacks. However, whites in the 31-49 age group were somewhat higher in SES than whites in the 17-30 age category. This relationship is not entirely unexpected since a family tends to obtain additional material possessions and become more financially and occupationally secure some years after the wage earner(s) has entered the labor market.

Table 29--Means of 6 race and age groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark. 1/

Age group	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
17-30		-283.1		11.8
31-49		-335.2		20.1
50-60		- 93.1		104.9
		PART scale		
17-30		95.6		73.1
31-49		43.4		23.8
50-60		-20.7		-52.6
		I-E scale		
17-30	11	-42.9	40	-70.6
31-49	21	-43.0	51	- 2.4
50-60	27	50.7	106	25.8
		ATD scale		
17-30		-44.8		-8.3
31-49		85.9		-26.6
50-60		54.8		-8.4

1/ F Statistic = 1.706 with 50 and 11959 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.001.

Table 30--Stepdown analysis of 6 race and age groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
SES scale	20.190	0.000
PART scale	8.838	.000
I-E control scale	3.646	.006
ATD scale	1.878	.113

The same relationship does not hold for black respondents, whose SES tends to decrease with age. Blacks 17-30 years of age had the highest SES mean score of any black group. The higher relative score of the young black population is probably related to the increase in employment opportunities in industry, which are most available to the young. A comparison of group means indicates the magnitude of the relationship of race and SES.

As expected, participation in status-lending activities and institutions as measured by group means on the PART scale decreases with age, and in both analyses participation for blacks is lower in each age group than for whites.

The discrimination which the socioeconomic system levels against the elderly is reflected in attitudes revealed on the I-E scale. As expected, younger age groups are more internally controlled than older age groups. However, young blacks are, interestingly, more internally controlled than young whites, a finding that contradicts the research hypothesis. The degree of internal control which is manifested by young blacks may have some relationship to the degree of upward mobility experienced by black families in St. Francis County during the past decade. Although the level of living conditions in Madison and in St. Francis County is low in comparison with national standards, living conditions and employment opportunities in the county have improved markedly in recent years. As previously indicated, in 1950, St. Francis County residents depended heavily on agriculture for employment. Today, industrial employment is available, and at salaries far above those typically earned by farmworkers. Internal control, then, may be related to mobility. Young blacks may be more internally controlled than young whites, owing to a greater positive degree of change in living conditions and standards. Formerly, young whites were not as economically deprived as young blacks.

The ATD scale was not statistically significant at the 0.05 level in accounting for additional variance among race and age groups. However, in both the analysis in which the entire population was studied and in that confined to individuals aged 60 and under, young whites (17-30 years of age), were more tolerant of deviant behavior than was any other group. Whites aged 31-49 were the group least tolerant of deviance and, as the group highest in SES, they were also the sector of the population with the greatest stake in maintaining the status quo. Young white families in Madison are generally rather isolated socially, and it may be this relative detachment which sways them toward a greater "live and let live" attitude than the more community-minded blacks. In a setting with a larger number of white residents, greater racial segregation, and more community institutions geared toward whites, it is possible that another configuration of attitudes toward deviant behavior might be manifested. The young white family in Madison is likely to be less community minded and to socialize less with neighbors than the black family, for whom the community provides a greater variety of resources and activities.

When the analysis was confined to individuals aged 60 and under (table 31), the null hypothesis of equal variance-covariance was accepted at the 0.05 level of significance, and the MANOVA found group difference to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level (table 32). Thus, the null hypothesis that race and age groups are statistically the same was rejected. The stepdown analysis indicated that the three most discriminatory scales in order of their contribution to the explanation of variance were the SES, JSP, and I-E scales (table 32).

Table 31--Means of 6 race and age groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark. 1/

Age group	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
17-30		-283.1		11.8
31-49		-335.2		20.1
50-60		- 79.4		19.3
		PART scale		
17-30		95.6		73.1
31-49		43.4		23.8
50-60		30.9		-18.1
		I-E scale		
17-30	11	-42.9	40	-70.6
31-49	21	-43.0	51	02.4
50-60	11	40.9	33	52.8
		ATD scale		
17-30		-44.8		-08.3
31-49		85.9		-26.6
50-60		36.4		-14.7
		JSP scale		
17-30		-01.2		-80.3
31-49		36.2		21.3
50-60		-53.1		106.8

1/ F Statistic = 1.300 with 75 and 7807 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.042.

Young blacks scored the highest on the JSP scale (table 31). Certainly this finding is consistent with the higher SES scores of young blacks in comparison with older blacks. The finding is also compatible with the high internal control score which characterizes this group. And, as had been expected, job satisfaction potential is lowest among the oldest group of blacks. Some older black respondents had to be probed before they would even admit that they had ever had a job. Such respondents would say that they never had a "job"--all they had ever done was to pick and chop cotton and to farm. Such activities were excluded from the domain of employment by older blacks. Picking and

Table 32--Stepdown analysis for 6 race and age groups (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
SES scale	10.171	0.000
JSP scale	5.780	.000
I-E control scale	3.057	.011
PART scale	1.255	.285
ATD scale	1.093	.366

chopping cotton and farming seemed merely routine activities--much the same as housekeeping. Perhaps the minimal specialized skills needed to perform manual farm labor and the lack of substantial monetary reimbursement caused these activities to be excluded from the category of "jobs." Liebow (1967:56) has commented that urban streetcorner blacks rarely discuss jobs in their informal conversations, since the jobs that such men perform are valued neither by themselves nor by society at large.

Race and Income

The population was also divided into race and income categories, and MANOVA was performed with these groups, utilizing the five research scales. Income figures were based on reported total 1970 household take-home income, and divisions were as follows: below $3,000, $3,000-$6,000, $6,001-$9,000, and over $9,000 (table 33). Because income is a component of the SES scale, income groups would be expected to be related to socioeconomic standing.

A statistical test showed equal variance-covariance when the entire population was included, and the test for MANOVA showed that groups were not statistically equal to the 0.05 level of significance (table 34). The stepdown analysis showed that the SES scale was most useful in accounting for population differences. However, at the 0.05 level, both the SES and PART scales were significant in differentiating among groups (table 34).

As predicted, income and SES were positively correlated, and for each income division, whites had a higher SES score than did blacks. Thus, a white family with a household take-home annual income of less than $3,000 was likely to have appreciably more material possessions and a household head engaged in a more prestigious occupation than a black family with a comparable income. Since black families were generally larger than white families in Madison, per capita income and consequent level of living among black families would be expected to be substantially lower.

The PART scale also revealed population differences which were statistically significant. As hypothesized, there was a generally positive correlation

Table 33--Means of 8 race and income groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark. 1/

Income group	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
Below $3,000		-28.4		182.6
$3,000-$6,000		-185.1		-53.0
$6,001-$9,000		-333.5		-185.0
Over $9,000		-394.7		-235.1
		PART scale		
Below $3,000		-71.5		-63.4
$3,000-$6,000		31.2		34.4
$6,001-$9,000		37.6		145.0
Over $9,000		126.9		123.9
		I-E scale		
Below $3,000	18	71.5	118	12.9
$3,000-$6,000	16	-35.2	47	05.6
$6,001-$9,000	11	-50.2	22	-03.0
Over $9,000	14	-12.7	10	-107.0
		ATD scale		
Below $3,000		53.2		-29.2
$3,000-$6,000		69.2		-10.5
$6,001-$9,000		-28.4		55.3
Over $9,000		74.1		14.0

1/ F Statistic = 1.509 with 70 and 10684 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.00395.

between participation in status-lending institutions and activities and income. But contrary to prediction, blacks with incomes exceeding $6,000 had rates of participation nearly as great as comparable whites, or greater. Additionally, the mean PART score for whites with incomes of less than $3,000 was lower than for comparable blacks.

Neither the I-E nor the ATD scale accounted for additional variance significant at the 0.05 level. Lower income blacks were more tolerant of deviant behavior than their upper income counterparts as measured by the ATD scale. However, the relationship between income and deviant behavior was not so clear. Lower and upper income whites appeared less tolerant of deviance than middle-income ($6,001-$9,000) individuals.

Table 34--Stepdown analysis of 8 race and income groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
SES scale	59.515	0.000
PART scale	7.498	.000
I-E control scale	2.273	.061
ATD scale	1.688	.151

Income and I-E control were generally related in the expected manner (table 33). Lower income groups, both black and white, were more externally controlled than higher income groups. However, whites whose household incomes exceeded $9,000 were less internally controlled than whites in the $6,001-$9,000 income range and less than blacks whose household incomes exceeded $9,000. Blacks whose household incomes exceeded $9,000 were the most internally controlled of all income groups, and there was no consistent pattern of whites being more internally controlled than blacks. Thus, there was little evidence to support the research hypothesis that blacks would be more externally controlled than whites.

When the analysis was confined to individuals aged 60 and under (table 35), equal variance-covariance was obtained, and the MANOVA revealed that the null hypothesis of group equality could be rejected (0.05 level). The stepdown analysis showed that the JSP scale was the most relevant in explaining variance, although the SES scale explained additional variance significant at the 0.05 level (table 36).

JSP tended to increase for both blacks and whites as income levels became greater. JSP for whites with incomes below $6,000 was greater than for comparable blacks, but for blacks with incomes exceeding $6,000, JSP was higher than for comparable whites. Thus, the hypothesis that job satisfaction potential would be higher for whites than for blacks within each income grouping was not supported. This finding, however, was consistent with analyses based on sex and age criteria. Blacks in occupations yielding total yearly household take-home income in excess of $6,000 tended to have a greater potential for employment satisfaction than did whites who had achieved such an income level. Perhaps the sociological concept of reference group may account for some of the attitudinal differences between races. A black in the Delta whose household take-home income exceeds $6,000 may consider himself to be prospering when he compares his income with that of other blacks in the area or when he recalls the household income of his parents. Whites, on the other hand, compare their earnings with other reference groups--wealthy farmers and prosperous businessmen in the area--and in turn view themselves as occupationally less successful than do blacks with comparable incomes. Thus, it is the idea of <u>relative</u> rather than <u>absolute</u> income which has sociological significance.

Scores on the PART scale support this finding. Blacks aged 60 and under whose household incomes are in the $6,000-$9,000 range had greater rates of participation than whites from comparable economic backgrounds.

Table 35--Means of 8 race and income groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark. 1/

Income group	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
Below $3,000		-131.8		170.3
$3,000-$6,000		-159.5		-54.7
$6,001-$9,000		-326.6		-201.9
Over $9,000		-388.3		-230.0
		PART scale		
Below $3,000		-46.7		-35.4
$3,000-$6,000		43.2		40.2
$6,001-$9,000		28.4		152.5
Over $9,000		160.2		157.1
		I-E scale		
Below $3,000	9	41.7	57	28.6
$3,000-$6,000	12	-47.6	40	-18.0
$6,001-$9,000	10	-46.3	17	-51.4
Over $9,000	12	-22.2	9	-127.0
		ATD scale		
Below $3,000		78.9		-48.6
$3,000-$6,000		65.5		02.2
$6,001-$9,000		-32.7		39.7
Over $9,000		45.1		13.9
		JSP scale		
Below $3,000		109.0		113.4
$3,000-$6,000		-100.3		-19.4
$6,001-$9,000		95.2		-160.0
Over $9,000		-157.7		-174.6

1/ F Statistic = 1.398 with 105 and 6415 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.004.

Race and Education

For analysis, the population was divided into three educational divisions: (1) Under 7th grade, (2) 7th to 11th grade, and (3) over 11th grade. Such a division took into account the relatively low level of formal educational achievement manifested by the Madison respondents.

Table 36--Stepdown analysis of 8 race and income groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
JSP scale	9.124	0.000
SES scale	30.067	.000
PART scale	1.940	.089
I-E control scale	1.410	.222
ATD scale	.968	.439

In both the analysis of all respondents and that limited to respondents aged 60 and under, the null hypothesis of equal variance-covariance was rejected at the 0.05 level of significance (table 37). Therefore, no test for MANOVA could be made. However, in the analysis using all respondents, the stepdown analysis showed that all scales contributed to understanding the increasing variance among groups (table 38).

Both PART 8/ and SES as measured by research scales tended to increase with additional years of formal education, both in analyses using the entire population and that limited to individuals aged 60 and under. Furthermore, PART and SES scores were uniformly higher for whites than for blacks. These relationships were expected and consistent with other data from the study.

Internal control increased with additional years of formal education for both blacks and whites. In the black population, persons who had completed more than 11 years of schooling were most internally controlled. In the white population, those with 7 to 11 years of formal education were most internally controlled. These relationships apply for both the entire age spectrum and those individuals aged 60 and under (tables 37-40).

No consistent pattern emerged from the analysis of race and education groups on the ATD scale. Contrary to expectations, whites with more than 11th grade education emerged as most tolerant of deviant behavior. Least tolerant were those with 7th to 11th grade education. Blacks with 7th to 11th grade educations were most tolerant of deviance, while those who had had more than 11 grades of schooling were least tolerant. These patterns emerged from both the analysis including respondents of all ages and that restricted to individuals aged 60 and under.

Although the JSP scale was not statistically significant at the 0.05 level on the stepdown analysis in accounting for increasing variance, an analysis of

8/ Since educational level is a component of the PART scale, one would expect the PART scale to be statistically significant in the stepdown analysis.

Table 37--Means of 6 race and education groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark. 1/

Educational attainment	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
Under 7th grade		-76.0		159.7
7th-11th grade		-240.7		56.4
Over 11th grade		-358.1		-87.7
		PART scale		
Under 7th grade		88.7		-106.7
7th-11th grade		31.2		07.5
Over 11th grade		161.8		129.4
		I-E scale		
Under 7th grade	20	66.8	62	39.4
7th-11th grade	24	-53.2	86	-01.6
Over 11th grade	15	-04.4	44	-55.9
		ATD scale		
Under 7th grade		35.5		01.0
7th-11th grade		94.8		-42.9
Over 11th grade		-12.7		32.7

1/ F Statistic = 1.314 with 50 and 19830 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.067.

Table 38--Stepdown analysis of 6 race and education groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
PART scale	38.272	0.000
SES scale	16.996	.000
I-E control scale	2.927	.021
ATD scale	2.394	.050

Table 39--Means of 6 racial and educational level groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark. 1/

Grades ed.	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
Under 7th grade		-143.3		91.4
7th-11th grade		-229.4		42.0
Over 11th grade		-391.6		-84.0
		PART scale		
Under 7th grade		-71.8		-67.8
7th-11th grade		38.3		21.2
Over 11th grade		182.0		114.2
		I-E scale		
Under 7th grade	11	62.2	23	19.1
7th-11th grade	19	-74.3	63	12.2
Over 11th grade	13	-15.2	36	-67.8
		ATD scale		
Under 7th grade		25.9		01.6
7th-11th grade		109.6		-42.6
Over 11th grade		-50.5		20.7
		JSP scale		
Under 7th grade		97.4		116.3
7th-11th grade		-17.1		10.6
Over 11th grade		-146.9		-65.7

1/ F Statistic = 1.132 with 75 and 9142 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.203.

group means on the scale indicated that job-satisfaction potential increases with rising educational level. And, as expected, the job-satisfaction potential of black groups was less than that of comparably educated white groups.

Race and Welfare Status

Belief in the existence of a "welfare syndrome" is widespread. That is, many people maintain that individuals receiving welfare payments develop

Table 40--Stepdown analysis of 6 racial and educational level groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
PART scale	12.795	0.000
SES scale	9.319	.000
JSP scale	.152	.976
I-E control scale	2.571	.028
ATD scale	2.139	.061

distinctive attitudes and display distinctive forms of behavior simply as a result of receiving monetary allotments from State governments or the Federal Government.

For the present analysis, households were defined as "on welfare" only if the principal source of yearly income was welfare payments. Hypotheses assumed that compared with nonwelfare recipients, welfare recipients would be more tolerant of deviant behavior, more externally controlled, lower in participation in status-lending activities and institutions, and lower in SES. These tendencies were expected to be more extreme among black than among white welfare respondents.

When all respondents were included in the analysis (table 41), the null hypothesis of equal variance-covariance was accepted at the 0.05 level, and the result of the MANOVA showed that the null hypothesis of group equality could be rejected at the 0.05 level of significance.

The stepdown analysis revealed that the most discriminatory scale was the PART scale, with the SES scale imparting additional explanation of variance significant at the 0.05 level (table 42). Means on the SES and PART scales were lower among welfare than nonwelfare groups in both black and white populations. However, for both nonwelfare and welfare groups, white groups had scores revealing higher socioeconomic status and less participation than the comparable black groups.

Although the ATD scale was not statistically significant on the stepdown analysis in accounting for additional variance, blacks on welfare had higher tolerance for deviance than did blacks off welfare. In general, the tolerance of the black population exceeded that of the white population. Off-welfare groups were more internally controlled, with blacks off welfare more internally controlled than whites off welfare. Perhaps just as blacks with moderate incomes tended to be more internally controlled than whites in the same income range, blacks became less externally controlled when faced with poverty conditions which resulted in on-welfare status. Black respondents stated that they felt there was less discrimination against welfare families in the black community than in the white.

Table 41--Means of 4 race and welfare groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark. 1/

Poverty status	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
On welfare		174.8		223.3
Off welfare		-244.5		-12.6
		PART scale		
On welfare		-149.9		-146.5
Off welfare		41.0		60.2
		I-E scale		
On welfare	4	42.4	63	43.2
Off welfare	54	-09.2	132	-21.4
		ATD scale		
On welfare		61.8		-34.2
Off welfare		48.4		-02.3

1/ F Statistic = 4.034. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.0.

Table 42--Stepdown analysis of 4 race and welfare groups on 4 scales (all ages), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
PART scale	35.959	0.000
SES scale	18.421	.000
I-E control scale	.631	.643
ATD scale	.345	.848

The same relationships appeared when only those individuals aged 60 and under were analyzed (table 43). In addition, results showed that the JSP for off-welfare blacks was greater than for the on-welfare black population and the off-welfare whites. In this second analysis, variance-covariance was statistically equal at the 0.05 level, and the test for MANOVA showed that group differences were statistically significant at the same level. The stepdown analysis showed that the PART scale explained the greatest amount of variance, with the SES scale accounting for additional variance significant at the 0.05 level (table 44). In the analysis of the segment of the population aged 60 and under, an insufficient number of whites precluded examining the group in the statistical analysis.

Although welfare status was positively correlated with the attitudes and behavior patterns of popular image, the data presented here do not indicate

Table 43--Means of 3 race and welfare groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark. 1/

Poverty status	Whites		Blacks	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
		SES scale		
On welfare				199.4
Off welfare		-261.1		-37.0
		PART scale		
On welfare				-132.1
Off welfare		63.7		76.4
		I-E scale		
On welfare			27	65.0
Off welfare	41	-32.0	95	-32.7
		ATD scale		
On welfare				-74.3
Off welfare		45.2		01.7
		JSP scale		
On welfare				182.4
Off welfare		-35.0		-37.9

1/ F Statistic = 1.500 with 30 and 22137 D.F. The probability of obtaining F this large or larger by chance when the hypothesis of equal variance is true is 0.038.

Table 44--Stepdown analysis of 3 race and welfare groups on 5 scales (age 60 and under), Madison, Ark.

Variable	F statistic	Probability of larger F by chance
PART scale	14.110	0.000
SES scale	8.726	.000
I-E control scale	1.332	.252
JSP scale	.204	.958
ATD scale	.079	.993

causality. Attitudes and behavior patterns displayed by the on-welfare groups may well be more indicative of attitudes associated with economic and social deprivation than with any social-psychological ills stemming from receiving public assistance.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS BASED ON SCALES

A number of general remarks seem relevant about the population of Madison, Ark., and the relationships between poverty and race exhibited when various groups of Madison residents were scored on the five scales.

Participation (PART)

According to Oscar Lewis (1966:21), "the disengagement, the nonintegration of the poor with respect to the major institutions of society is a crucial element in the culture of poverty." Valentine (1968:130) maintains that because of external forces largely beyond their control, poor populations have low rates of participation in stable employment, property ownership, labor union membership, and higher education. At the same time, these poverty-level groups display high rates of participation in the police-courts-prisons complex, the armed services, the welfare system, and primary public education. The PART scale utilized in this research was designed to test participation in those realms which would positively affect the individual's Socio-Economic Status (SES).

As expected, group means on the PART scale were related to the factors of sex, race, income, education, and welfare status. In most analyses, the scores of whites were higher than those of blacks, reflecting both the lower social position of blacks in the socioeconomic hierarchy of the rural South and the lack of opportunity that blacks have traditionally experienced in a "closed society" structure. Nevertheless, blacks with relatively high incomes and higher levels of educational attainment, and of younger age, were likely to score higher on the PART scale than blacks who were relatively poor, uneducated, and old. Blacks on welfare or in households with $6,001 to $9,000 annual

take-home incomes had higher PART scores than comparable whites. Thus, data indicated that opportunities for participation in secondary and higher education, the military services, property ownership, stable employment, and special job training seem to be increasing for young blacks in Madison. (Unlike the poor population just described by Valentine, Madison blacks formerly did not have a high rate of participation in the military because of hardship deferments and lack of education.) A comparison between blacks and whites, however, attests to the advantaged position of whites.

Job Satisfaction Potential (JSP)

Both the PART and SES scales were objective measures of social position, insofar as their components contained no attitudinal information. The JSP scale, in contrast, contained both objective and subjective components. That is, the JSP scale used both information pertaining to objective deterrents to employment--transportation, health problems, present employment status, job training, and access to information about employment opportunities--as well as subjective or attitudinal variables which might deter employment success--reasons for not looking for a job, willingness to work if employment were offered, willingness to move or to commute to obtain employment, and attitudes toward previous employment.

Although, as expected, males of both races had higher mean scores on the JSP scale than did females, the relationship of race and JSP was more complex than expected. Unlike the relationship hypothesized, blacks did not uniformly have lower mean scores on the index than did whites. Instead, for some population groups, it was found that the JSP mean score for blacks exceeded that for comparable white groups. For example, the JSP mean score for blacks aged 17 to 30 exceeded that for 17- to 30-year-old whites. Additionally, the JSP score for blacks both in the $6,001-$9,000 income range and in the over $9,000-income division exceeded that for whites. Also, the JSP score for blacks off welfare was somewhat higher than for whites off welfare. It appeared from the data, then that younger blacks (17-30 years of age) or blacks who had household incomes of $6,000 or higher had as great a potential for employment success as did whites, or greater. Data indicated that increased employment opportunities to achieve moderate income levels increased potential for job satisfaction. Blacks on the same educational level with whites did not experience the same degree of potential for job satisfaction. But when blacks and whites were matched according to income, the blacks often had higher scores. This finding is especially significant since it is in direct contradiction to the research hypothesis that the JSP of blacks would be uniformly lower than that of whites within the same income, age, education, and welfare categories. Such findings have policy implications for future planning. The popular idea that young blacks will refuse to work even if employment opportunities are available was not borne out in Madison. Indeed, young blacks and blacks from middle-income households, by their statements, were more willing to work, to move, or to commute to find employment than comparable whites, and these black groups held better images of work.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

A relationship between racial identity and SES as measured by household income, material possessions, and the occupational status of the household head was apparent, regardless of the population division used. Black respondents of comparable age, educational level, or welfare status as white respondents consistently scored substantially lower on the SES scale. This means that when a black and white household were matched in relationship to the age and educational level of the respondent, welfare status, and yearly household take-home income, the white household was more likely to receive a higher SES score. Furthermore, the black adult was likely to belong to a household in which more individuals resided, resulting in a lower per capita income and a consequent lower standard of living.

Yet, an analysis of SES by age group showed that blacks aged 17 to 30 had a higher mean score on the SES scale than did older blacks. Nevertheless, there was a large discrepancy between the SES scores of 17- to 30-year-old blacks and whites. As expected, for both the white and black populations, income, age, education, and welfare status were related to scores on the SES inventory. Increased educational attainment and higher incomes were associated with higher group means on the SES scale; increased age and on-welfare status generally contributed to lower SES scores.

Internal-External Control and Attitudes Toward Deviant Behavior (I-E and ATD)

According to Lewis (1966:23), individuals within the culture of poverty exhibit "a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, and of inferiority . . . little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future . . . resignation and fatalism."

Observed deviant behavior, too, is greater in the lower socioeconomic classes. Such deviant behavior occurs not because deviance is valued but because it may lead to the attainment of valued goals. Thus, it was expected that tolerance of deviant behavior would be most apparent among those groups which cannot easily achieve through the same channels as mainstream Americans but who desire success as much as others.

The structure of the socioeconomic system can deter progress of racial minorities in the United States. It follows logically then that saving, planning for the future, and belief in one's ability to shape his own destiny would be reduced severely among the black segment of the population. It was further expected that internal control and intolerance of deviant behavior would increase with educational attainment and income. Females were expected to be less tolerant of deviance than males. Those groups on welfare were expected to be more tolerant of deviance and more externally controlled than nonwelfare groups.

The study only partially confirmed these hypotheses. Blacks were not categorically more tolerant of deviant behavior or more externally controlled than whites. As expected, white females were the group most intolerant of deviance, followed by black females. Black and white males were more externally controlled than whites in the same age group. Although attitudes of younger blacks

were different from what had been predicted, they were consistent with the relatively high scores of black young adults on the SES, PART, and JSP scales.

Internal control increased with household income. Black respondents residing in households with total yearly take-home incomes exceeding $9,000 were the most internally controlled. Once again, internal control of black respondents exceeded that of whites. Similarly, white respondents from households with less than $3,000 yearly take-home incomes were more externally controlled than blacks on the same income level. Blacks on educational levels exceeding the 11th grade were also more internally controlled than comparably educated whites. Blacks with less than a 7th grade education were less externally controlled than whites with a similar educational achievement.

Tolerance of deviant behavior seemed largely unrelated to educational level or household income, as whites from higher income groups and with greater educational achievement were more tolerant of deviance than their less well educated and lower income white counterparts. Young whites were the most tolerant of deviant behavior, perhaps demonstrating the lack of community bonding among this group. Although on-welfare black groups were more tolerant of deviance than off-welfare groups, both on- and off-welfare white groups were more intolerant of deviance than the black groups.

In a community with such strongly fundamentalistic religious views as Madison exhibited, it would be expected that verbal attitudes toward deviance would indicate a strong rejection of deviant acts, even though verbalized norms and actual behavior might well be discrepant. Also it would be expected that deviant behavior would be more strongly condemned in a small rural community like Madison than in an urban setting.

Although the ATD scale provided some useful information concerning group differences, data did not permit the formulation of a "theory of deviance" for the population. The stepdown analysis showed that the ATD scale was the least useful scale for accounting for population differences.

Data from the I-E scale question the validity of the popular notion that the poor are fatalistic and present-oriented, and do not defer gratification. Blacks who were affluent and well educated were more internally controlled than their aged, poor, and ill-educated counterparts. Moreover, groups of blacks were not uniformly more external in orientation than comparable groups of whites.

CONCLUSIONS

Madison and St. Francis County are experiencing rapid social change as a result of increasing industrialization and decreasing dependency on agricultural employment. In the past decade, incomes in the county have risen markedly. Efforts to increase black participation in the political process have been highly successful. Black people can turn to elected officials--a black mayor and black city councilmen--who are responsive to their needs.

Stubborn physical deterrents to employment persist, however. Lack of transportation is a major handicap for Madison families who cannot afford to own

a car. If policymakers try to reduce the transportation problem, alternatives might include small buses financed partly by cooperating industrial firms, guaranteed loans made available to persons who have proof of a job and can show need for a car, and State agencies providing assistance in helping low-income rural workers obtain automobile insurance.

Because both blacks and whites cited unsatisfactory work environment as another major physical deterrent to employment, future job programs in the Mississippi Delta might properly concentrate on providing instruction in basic educational and technical skills. Income allowances to enrollees during the training period would be an additional incentive to join such a program. Occupational counseling and job diversification also should be an intrinsic part of any effort to help workers obtain more satisfactory employment.

The degree to which findings in Madison can be generalized to the black population of the rural South is unclear. The authors maintain that a number of the characteristics of Madison's population are conditioned by the demographic, social, economic, and political variables operating in the community. It is suggested that blacks in a rural southern community with a heavy rate of outmigration, stable or decreasing employment opportunities, and a lack of opportunity for political participation might display less positive scores on the SES, PART, JSP, I-E, and ATD scales than did blacks in Madison. More insight is needed into the impact of such variables as (1) the relative effectiveness of the local political structure in meeting community needs, (2) expanding or contracting economic and employment opportunities, and (3) the influence of inmigration and outmigration on behavior, socioeconomic status, and attitudes.

Although most research hypotheses were substantiated, some test results raise questions about previously held correlates of poverty and race. Blacks in Madison did not exhibit the degree of hopelessness, fatalism, and search for immediate rewards--the "culture of poverty"--that many observers attribute to deprived populations. It appears that the complexities of social life as measured by SES, PART, JSP, I-E, and ATD scales cannot be viewed simply as functions of the racial dichotomy of the rural South. High SES and PART scores are more easily obtained by whites in the community than by blacks. Nevertheless, attitudes of blacks toward employment, deviant behavior, and internal-external control do not appear to be hampering their successful upward mobility.

Although not necessarily typical of the rural South, Madison may provide a model for predicting behavioral and attitudinal patterns in other small southern communities where income levels are rising, employment opportunities in industry are increasing, and blacks are gaining political power and social status.

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